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ABSTRACT

This teacher's guide for use at the secondary level, although it has not yet undergone classroom trial, is recommended for inclusion in U.S. History, World History, Modern European History, or as a unit in Problems of Democracy. The primary objective of the unit is to demonstrate that the key to understanding present racial attitudes in Brazil and the United States lies in their peculiar slave institutions, and in doing so to expose the genesis of racism in this country. The arrangement of the material is predominantly chronological, although certain non-chronological juxtapositions are made in order to give historical perspective to the development of racial attitudes and to demonstrate that racism has in turn affected out view of Africa. Sample topics include: How Racism Became Part of Western European Tradition; Myths of Africa; Comparison of Some Institutions of Western Europe and Western Africa; Atlantic Slave Trade; and Comparison of Brazilian and U.S. Slavery Institutions. Subject sections, some of which may be xeroxed for student use, contain suggestions for parallel and supplemental activities, as well as recommended reading. A selected, annotated bibliography appears at the end of the unit. Related documents are: SO 000 353 and SO 000 354. (JLB)

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II World History 1815 -
Comparison of Institutions of Slavery and Abolitionist Movements

RACE AND REASON: A COMPARISON OF RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

SP 000 351

By

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This curricular unit was developed as a part of the work in the EPDA History Institute, "The Black Experience. A Comparative Study: The United States and Latin America," held at Smith College from June 23 to August 8, 1969. It is a first draft and has as yet not undergone classroom trial.

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NOTE TO THE TEACHER:

The material in this unit is intended primarily for the use of the teacher. There are sections, however, that may be Xeroxed and used as class handouts. Books that we have recommended for the teacher might also be considered as readings for some classes. The one book that we would recommend for all classes is Kenneth Goode's book From Africa to the United States and Then . . . . It is concise, to the point and contains an excellent bibliography.

The arrangement of the material in this unit is somewhat unique. We jump, for example, from racism in the United States to the history of Africa in order to give historical perspective to the development of racial attitudes and also to show that racism has affected our view of the African continent. The documentation of the evolution of racial attitudes in the United States and Brazil is chronological for the remainder of the unit.

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RACE AND REASON: A COMPARISON OF RACIAL ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL

I.

American society is a racist society. By racist we mean that one race, namely the Caucasoid, has been established as superior to all others. Racialism may shock some and cause others to recoil in disbelief, but there is no avoiding the fact that it does exist. Its unconsciousness in some people makes it all the more detrimental to a free and open society.

This racism we speak of has deep roots in American society. Our institutions were tainted from their inception with the notion that white is superior to Black. Church, Government and schools, to name but a few institutions, accepted this assumption and have transmitted the idea down through the ages. We have, as a people, accepted instutional racism without question. This is possible because institutions and what they stand for are seldom questioned and are quite literally taken for granted.

The Kerner report, or as it is more properly known the Report of the National Aevisory Commission on Civil Disorders published in 1968 points to institutional racism as a major cause of the civil disorder that has racked the country. Tom Wicker in the introduction to the Report quotes the Commission as saying that "what white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto." Wicker,

himself, goes on to say that "white institutions have created the ghetto, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." The Commission in the final analysis concluded that until racism was admitted, and it might be added understood, no solution to our social problems could be expected.

Racism, of course, is not peculiar to the United States. We do, however, seem to be the only nation in the world that has institutionalized it. Other American nations whose origins and development parallel to a degree, that of the United States do not have this problem.

Brazil, for example, imported Black Africans to toil as slaves as did the United States. Both nations went through an abolitionist period culminating in emancipation for the slaves, and yet the racial attitudes of both countries are markedly different.

The key to understanding present day racial attitudes in Brazil and the United States must lie in their "peculiar" slave institutions.

It is in fact the purpose of this unit to attempt to demonstrate just that. In the process we hope to expose the genesis of racism in this country. Students should derive a clear conception of its development and maintainance in our society and thus be better prepared to deal with the Contemporary Crisis racism has created.

This unit will also explode some of the more common myths that have evolved concerning the Negro such as

1. "They ain't got no history."
2. "They are suited for slavery."
3. "They are savage uncivilized heathens."

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4. "They are docile."
5. "They are childlike."
6. "They are inferior."

In summary the Negro is a SAMBO.

This unit is recommended for use in U.S. History, World History, Modern European History or as a unit in Problems of Democracy.

II. Parallel Activities

The following activities are recommended as supplemental to the unit under consideration.

A. Sunshine
Interact P.O. Box 262
Lakeside, California 92040
$10.00

Sunshine is a simulation game that will help students to deal with the reality of racial problems in this country.

> A simulation is a manner of instruction in which the classroom represents a mythical environment where students "live."

In this game students are born Negro, or white in Sunshine, their simulated community. After "birth" they will move into one of six neighborhoods. As they "live" in this neighborhood, they will study the evolution of racial attitudes in the United States. This will help students to solve the racial problems of their troubled city(Sunshine).

B. Instruct students to conduct the following survey in their own Community.

1. When was your city settled? By whom? For what reasons? Was there an indigenous population?

2. How many ethnic groups are represented in the original group of settlers?

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3. Location of your city within the state?

4. What is the present population of your city? What percentage do various ethnic groups enjoy?

5. Are people still coming to your Community? Why or why not?

6. What is the economy of your Community based on?

7. What is the overall unemployment percentage in your Community? What is the percentage of unemployment for various ethnic groups?

8. What are the housing patterns in your Community? Who lives where?

9. How many religious groups are located in your Community?

10. What is the composition of schools in your Community?

After students complete their survey it should be evaluated. In the process have the class establish criteria for accepting the various ethnic groups that make up the Community. Criteria might include

1. Who came first.
2. Color
3. Numbers.
4. Money.
5. Unity.
6. Language.
7. Skills.
8. Education.
9. Point of origin.
10. Power.

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After criteria is established ask students to produce a order for ethnic groups. What ethnic group would be placed first, second, third, fourth, etc. according to criteria that has been established. Of what importance is color? It becomes obvious that a man of color, even though he has all the other criteria for acceptance, is automatically excluded from that possibility. Why does this color line exist? As this unit is studied the answer should become more apparent.

Students should also be questioned on the consequences of maintaining a "mud sill" based on color. It is possible to compare the struggle of the white immigrant with that of the Black immigrant. There are many similarities and several important differences.

Suggested Reading:

Kennedy, John The Immigrant Experience; Moynihan & Glazer, Beyond the Melting Pot.

III. How did racism--defined as white over black--become part of Western European tradition?

A. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to give the teacher and students an introduction and background into some very specific areas that have led Western European tradition to the development of the myth that the white man is racially superior to the black man, and in turn to the development of a condescending mental-set attitude towards non-caucasoid cultures.

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A short bibliography:

1. Jordan, Winthrop, White Over Black.

2. McKitrick, Eric, Slavery Defended.

3. Putnam, Carleton, Race and Reason: A Yankee View.

4. Snyder, Louis, The Idea of Racialism.

B. Race, Racism and Racialism.

1. So much of the American dilemma concerning the Black Experience in the United States centers around arguments about race and slavery, especially the peculiar North American institution called "Chattel Slavery," where the person is owned outright, person and labor, and where the individual has absolutely no rights.

2. Louis Snyder defines RACISM in the following manner

> Racism assumes inherent racial superiority or the purity and superiority of certain races; also it denotes any doctrine or program of racial dominance based on such an assumption. (Snyder, p. 10)

> Racialism assumes similar ideas, but describes especially race hatred and racial prejudice. It is suffused with myth and fallacy. (Snyder)

3. Thomas Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia makes numerous references to a stereotyped view of the black man. We view the black man as "in reason much inferior;" it is not their condition then, but nature, which has produced the distinction.

We must ask ourselves, how did this attitude come to reside in one of the great theoretical equalitarians of the Western World? Was it science, reason, religion or ignorance that caused this mental-set view of the black man? (For a contemporary example that this same, perhaps unconscious, yet subtle allusion to the black man's innate

inferiority and low moral character, is very much alive today, Cf. Putnam, Race and Reason, p. 41 discussion of intelligence, cephalix indiçes p. 49 biological inequality. This book was published in 1961 by a supposedly intelligent individual. Scan pp. 13-14 to see how all too well this book and its views have been received).

C. Race Classification (Cf. Snyder, Introduction).

1. The earliest systems of classification of races were based on simple biological differences. In 1735, Swedish pioneer botanist Carl VonLinnaeus (1707-1778) in his Systema Natural describes the species of Homo Sapiens as a fixed and unchangeable entity, and he divided it into four varieties: American, European, Asiatic and African. The chief distinction made by Linnaeus was color of skin.

2. The 19th Century classification of races was based upon color, type of hair, form of noses and shape of skull.

a. In 1860, Saint Hilaires' Classification of Races with four principal races and thirteen secondary.

b. In 1865 Thomas Huxley proposed five principal races and fourteen secondary races.

* As the science of biology began to develop, race, all of a sudden, is postulated as a criterion for differentiation of superiority.

3. Methods of Classification

a. Cephalic Index: with the development of anthropology as a science in the 19th Century came the introduction of quantitative method.

b. Such characteristics as skin color, stature, hair, form of eyes, nose and face.

c. Today, we continue to use such indices as blood corpuscles, respiration, brain size and structure.

D. Scientific attempts to theorize Racial Superiority

1. European Writers of 19th Century:

a. Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau (1816-1882), Apostle of Aryanism, who projected the doctrine that the various races of mankind are innately unequal in talent and ability to create culture. He goes so far as to say: "Only the white race is a cultural creature, and the 'Aryan' was superior to all other races. (Cf. Snyder, Gobineau, pp. 46-50 and reading #11, pp. 127-130).

b. Houston Steward Chamberlain, (1855-1927) and the Nordic Tentonism. (Snyder, pp. 50-53).

c. Thomas Carylisle, (1795-1881) and Racialism. (Snyder, pp. 55-59 and reading on pp. 134-135 in which Carylisle proposes to demonstrate that servantship presented a natural way of life for blacks).

2. American writers soon began to reflect this attitude and classification prejudice.

a. Madison Grant professes straight "Gobineauism" (Snyder, p. 50 and pp. 169-170).

b. Lothrop Stoddard is the most prolific apostle of Nordicism in United States (Snyder, pp. 171-172).

c. Senator Al Beveridges', "March of the Flag" speech of the Anglo-Saxon mission (Snyder, pp. 167-168).

3. So what began as a cultural metaphor with Linnaeus and Huxley,

now is used to prove that specific cultural transmissions, such as intelligence, are inherent in one race and absent in another. Lest we think that this is a 19th Century phenomena, not attributable to our generation, I ask the teacher and students to examine:

a. Carlton Putnam's Race and Reason: A Yankee View, 1961 especially part III, "Point by Point" where Mr. Putnam responses to a series of questions and offers the reader an all too clear expression of this biological metaphor, (Cf. p.41, discussion of race classification and intelligence; p. 49, discussion of biological inequities, similar to Gobineau, Carlyle or Grant).

Note: It would be valuable to mimeograph a couple of these questions and answers so the class could use these as a basis for discussion and dialogue.

b. Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?", Howard Educational Review, Winter, 1969, pp. 1-123.

B. Language and Imagry: fear of the mysterious black man.

1. The concept of "blackness" was loaded with intense derogatory meaning for the white Anglo-Saxon. (Cf. Jordan, White Over Black, p. 7).

2. Biblical inferences: Battle of Prince of Light against Prince of Darkness: Zoroastrianism. Protestant Christianity tended to reinforce these mental attitudes of polarization.

3. Luther's salvific doctrine and Colom's theory of predestination and justification led easily to a translation of a classification of blacks as evil and, in turn, to the dehumanization of black men.

F. Savage Behavior and Culture.

1. The European civilization was very parochial and it did not appreciate other civilizations: The necessity of continuously measuring African practices with a white English yardstick tended to empahsize the differences between the two groups (Cf. Jordan, p. 25).

2. Black slaves came from an extended family culture which had elements of polygamy and concubinage. Protestant European culture viewed this as an invention of the devil.

3. Late Renaissance Europe viewed the world as full of devils and demons, and Africa personified this trend.

4. Blacks are seen as libidinous men, related to the sexual connotation in the biblical account of Ham's offense.

G. Biblical and Philosophical Arguments.

1. Thomas R. Dew, a writer of the middle 19th Century, published his Review of the Debate which achieved immediate influence, and it was a model effort in the theoretical justification of slavery. (Cf. McKitrick, pp. 20-33).

2. Aristotle states that, "No advanced community ever existed in which one part did not live off the labor of another." (Cf., McKitrick, "Calhoun", pp. 12-16).

3. James H. Hammond, "Mud-Sill" speech, is the culmination of the biblical, sociological and economic argumentation to justify a cultural racist belief. Slavery is a product of consequence of this

of attitude. (Cf. McKitrick, pp. 121-125).

H. Conclusion

It is essential that the teacher, and in turn the students see the haphazard yet continuous development of this fixed mentality toward the Black man.. I wish to introduce, at this point, a model of logical priority in order to illustrate what has happened. It involves your basic steps in theory:

Step 1. Differences are necessary for rationality. There is no reason without comparison or perspective.

Step 2. Value: the setting up of a hierarchy of value judgements.

Step 3. Classification: system of classification based on valuation becomes a means for rationalization.

Step.4. Hypothesis: establish realities to your postulations. Reinforcement of position.

Concerning the Black Experience, we can say:

1. Linnaeus distinguishes four varieties of man based on color.

2. Huxley postulates that black is not as valuable as white through his valuation of races.

3. Methods of classification are developed via the cephalic index, Gobineau's thesis.

4. Language, philosophy, religion help reinforce that white is superior and real, while black is inferior and unreal.

So this language (fixed symbols), this culture, (the rigid mores), this religion (strict fundamentalism), this economy (need for labor), and this science (primitive and unsophisticated data and methodology), all reinforced and were conditioned by each other to the end that these

lent themselves to the continual dehumanization of the creature of God, the black man, until in the late 1660's in America, this black race became considered as neither nor cattle, but rather beast "chattel" and was used by this society without rights or duties. (Cf. Jordan, Chapter II, for a development of legal customs of black slavery).

IV. The Myth of Africa

In his introduction to The World and Africa W. E. B. DuBois wrote:

> Since the use of the sugar empire and the resultant cotton kingdom, there has been a consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history...[1]

Whether or not one accepts DuBois' charge that Africa has been purposely omitted from World History, it remains a fact that most Americans are almost totally ignorant of African history. The outline which follows is an attempt to help the teacher correct his own and his students' misconceptions about Africa. It cannot be overemphasized, however, that only a few selected African societies have been chosen for treatment here. African history is far more complex than is indicated below, but a thorough study of this material should begin to put Africa in its proper perspective.

Essay

The teacher may wish to begin the unit by asking the students to write an essay on Africa. A series of stereotyped myths about Africans and their continent will almost certainly be the result.

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[1]W.E.B. DuBois, The World and Africa, New York, International Publishers, 1969, p. VII.

The teacher may then wish to have the students read their essays in class or collect the essarys, mimeo the most common myths, and pass out copies to each student. The goal of the unit can then be unit can then be made to prove the students' beliefs wrong and raise questions as to why such a warped image of Africa persists.

Selected African Societies

Egypt

Most of the students will not include Egypt in their essay on Africa. Egypt usually re-eives a thorough treatment in most World History courses but the students should be made aware of the fact that Egypt cannot be considered a "white" nation, and that it is an integral part of the African continent. The teacher may wish to note the following:

1. Egyptian society was a multi-racial society with a large number of Negroes always present.

2. The Egyptians considered themselves to be a non-white people and depicted themselves as black or brown on their monuments. Some of the Egyptian pharoahs were black as was Queen Neferteri.

3. Slavery existed in Egyptian society but it was never attributed solely to black people.

4. Some scholars have argued that Egyptian influence permeated throughout much of Africa. Some examples would be

   a. Egyptian customs and skills are known to have pervaded the ancient kingdom of Kush.

   b. The idea of divine kingship in many parts of Africa is thought by some scholars to have been borrowed from Egypt.

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5. Some scholars argue that societies in tropical Africa evolved independently of ancient Egypt. They point out that societies too far from Egypt to have been influenced by it developed institutions similar to ones in Egypt.

6. Some scholars take a central position and argue that some civilizations in Africa developed independently but were influenced by Egyptians to a certain extent.

For further information consult:

DuBois, W.E.B., The World and Africa, New York, International Publishers, Chapter V.

Collins, Robert O., Ed. Problems in African History. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1968, pp. 7-55.

West Africa

Most of the slaves who were brought to the new world by European traders were taken from West Africa. Civilization in this part of Africa had a long and varied history before the arrival of the Europeans, however. From the time West Africans first learned the skill of iron working about 200 B.C., through the rise of Ghana as a great empire in the 8th century, and well into the middle ages African History was one of the rise and fall of kingdoms and leaders. African historians have pointed out two major themes in the history of the area: the importance of the trade routes (both the overland routes which linked West Africa with the north, east and south and the coastal shipping) in the shifting fortunes of the cities and empires and the religious and political struggles of the local cultures with Islam.

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In order to bring the complexities of West African history more clearly into focus a chronological outline of three major West African kingdoms, Ghana, Melle, and Songhai, is given below. Afterwards, an attempt is made to compare and contrast some of the institutions of West African civilization with similar institutions in Europe during the middle ages. R. J. Wingfield's The Story of Old Ghana, Melle and Songhai, Cambridge, University Press, 1957, is recommended for junior high school students with this part of the unit.

Ghana

A.D.

750 Ghana grows important as a trading center between the Arab and Berger traders of the North and the gold producing areas of the South.

800 Ghana controls the international trade in gold and salt.

1000 Ghana at the height of its power and able to raise an army of 200,000 warriors.

1076 Almoraved Berbers initiate the collapse of Ghana.

For further information the teacher may wish to consult Basil Davidson's A History of West Africa, Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, 1966, pp. 39-49.

Melle

A.D.

1230 Sundiata founds empire of Melle.

1255 Mansa Vli continues to build the empire of Melle.

1312 Mansa Musa comes to the throne of Melle, and gains control of the trading cities of Timbuktu and Gao.

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1324 Mansa Musa makes a famous pilgrimage to Mecca.

1337 Mansa Musa dies.

1375 Melle begins to decline because of the weaknesses of Mansa Musa's successors.

1464 Melle continues to decline.

1534 Melle sends an ambassador to Portugal.

1591 Melle empire in the last stages of collapse.

For further information consult Davidson, pp. 53-60.

Songhai

1054 Early Songhai state of Gao is in existence, its rulers have accepted Islam.

1255 Growing commercial power of Gao.

1325 Gao is made part of the Melle Empire by Mansa Musa.

1375 Sunni-Suleiman-Mar of Gao wins back independence from Melle.

1464 Sunni Ali comes to the throne of Gao and begins to build the Songhai Empire.

1468 Sunni Ali captures Timbuktu.

1472 Sunni Ali brings the important trading city of Jenne under the control of Songhai.

1493 Askia Muhammed becomes the ruler of Songhai and builds up a strong central government.

1528 Askia Muhammed dies.

1591 Moroccan invasion causes the collapse of Songhai Empire.

For further information consult Davidson, pp. 65-69, 119-129.

V. A Comparison of Some Institutions of Western Europe and Western Africa.

1. Government

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a. Europe: Feudal lords and knights dominated the political and military life of Europe during the Middle Ages. These Lords ruled through a system of government called "feudalism" (from the Latin feudum, a grant of land), which included a system of agreements between lords and lesser lords, called vassals. By the end of the 10th century, feudalism was developing a formal hierarchy or pyramid of power. This hierarchy constantly changed as stronger lords seized territory from weaker lords in a constant struggle for land and power. Feudalism was important because it provided a system of strong local and regional government which protected the people against invasions and raids, in a time prior to the strongmonarchies.

b. West Africa: From at least the 8th century government in West Africa was usually decentralized with the king of an empire governing through a system of governors or sub-governors. Greater centralization came about during the 16th century with the loss of some power by the local nobles. The chiefs of outlying provinces under the control of a king might have to supply troops for the king in time of war. Among the Oyo people, for example, the king presided over a powerful governing council which consisted of nobles. These nobles had the right to elect the king. The chiefs of provinces in distant areas were required to supply troops for the king and allow an official of the king to look after the king's interest, including the collection of taxes.

Sunni Ali of Songhai (1464-1492) had divided Songhai into provinces and had appointed governors and commanders with staffs of their own.

2. Religion

a. Europe: Christianity was established as the official

religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th century. From the 4th to the 10th centuries, various barbaric invasions challenged or modified the hold of Christianity on Europe and Africa, eg. Visigoth, Vandals, Hims. The strongest challenge to the reign of Christianity came in the 7th century as Islam swept across Africa into Spain and across Asia Minor. At the Battle of Toms in the 8th century, the Muhammadan expansion was turned back out of France. However, it exertedpolitical and economical control over the urban areas of the Iberia peninsula, until in 1492 the indigenous population rallied in a religious revolt to expel the Muhammadan from Iberia.

b. West Africa: Islam moved into West Africa by the beginning of the 10th century, but it remained the religion of people in the cities, towns and larger market areas, while the rural areas remained strongholds of indigenous African religions. The religious and political struggles between these two groups is an important theme of medieval African History.

In order to gain power Sunni Ali of Songhai made concessions to the beliefs and customs of the Muslims but based his military power on the non-Muslim farmers and fisherman of the countryside. One reason for the success of the Moroccan invasion of Songhai in 1591 was that the Muslims of the towns thought of the Moroccans as their allies against the non-Muslims of the rural areas.

3. Education

a. Europe: All medieval learning was connected with the church. However, even up to the 13th century, the church and society made little effort to educate any who were not planning to join the clergy. It

discouraged laymen from formal study. Although, of course, sons of nobles were educated as pages and squires, and with the growth of towns about the 11th century, future craftsmen were apprentices, none of these boys went to school to study academic subjects. The first universities became prominent in the 12th century. These universities were really guilds, either of masters or of students. Oxford and Cambridge in England were founded in the 12h century. While on the continent, in Paris, In Bolognia, and in Salerno, theology, law and medicine were respectively studied on the graduate level.

b. West Africa: Education was limited for the masses of people to instruction in skills needed in everyday life. Higher learning was pursued in the cities of Timbuktu and Jenne where scholars wrote on religious, legal and historical subjects.

Mahmud Kati, a scholar in Timbuktu wrote the
or the Chronicle of the Seeker After Knowledge in the 16th century. The book was a history of the Western Sudan. Muslim scholars became famous throughout the Muslim world.

4. Economy

a. Europe:

Agriculture. The basic way of life in feudal Europe was agriculture which usually centered around the castle of the lord. There were three classes of peasants (defined as those who worked in the fields); the slaves, who could be bought and sold like cattle; the serfs, who could neigher leave the manor nor be forced to go; and the freeman, who usually owned some small piece of land and could and could come and go as he chose. The main staple of most medieval

societies was an product which was produced by this peasant class.

Trade. In the 9th century, the prolonged decline of commerce leveled off, and an almost imperceptible growth of population and an increase in wealth began. As a consequence, towns grew to house craftsmen who made goods the manors could not produce and the town became the center of trade. The earliest medieval towns began to prosper in the 11th century; Venice expanded its trade to the East, while Genoa and Pisa to Southern France; Flanders, along the North Sea, grew rapidly and flourished.

Such products as raw wool, furs, cloth, and luxury goods were transported over specified trade routes throughout Europe.

The Guilds. The medieval society was a closely regulated society. The craftsmen of the towns organized themselves into "guilds", which regulated economic life and also played an important role in their social and political activities. The organization of the craft guilds reflected the manufacturing methods of the time. Everything was made by hand, in small shops, under strict guild restrictions and qualifications.

b. West Africa

Agriculture. West Africans were well advanced in methods of tropical farming and also knew how to look after cattle, despite conditions of great heat. The land was owned by a broad cross section of the population and was not in the private possession of a land-owing class.

Trade. The cities of Timbuktu and Jenne were two of the most important trading centers of West Africa. They served as the

centers for trade between gold producing areas of West Africa and the Arabs to the North. Cotton goods, iron goods, leather and mutton was also imported as far as Northern Europe and Asia. Trans-Saharan trade routes had been in existence since ancient times and were well established by the 16th century.

The comparison of medieval European and African views on slavery is especially important. First, and foremost, the comparison demonstrates that the two civilizations had strikingly similar views on the subject. Secondly, this indicates that the medieval African was as humane as his European counterpart and thirdly, it points out that the African chieftan who sold his brethren into slavery had a rather fixed notion of what slavery was all about.

Medieval Europe

The medieval man's attitude toward slavery, as towards, everything else, was conditioned by the Church. The effect of that conditioning with respect to slavery is summed up in the following paragraph from David Brian Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture.

> In so far that the Church upheld the belief that men shared a common origin and were free and equal in their natural state, it promoted laws and regulations that acknowledged the bondsman's humanity.

This is the single most important point to be made in dealing with European slavery. Mr. Davis further states that

> The humane provisions of las Silte Partidas the great 13th century codification of law sponsored by Alfonso the Wise have been seen by some historians as characteristic of the Catholic approach to slavery.

Las Silte Partidas followed the Justinian Code in recognizing war, birth and self sale as valid grounds for human bondage.

The definition of the slaveholders power echoed ancient Roman law:

> The master has full power over his slave to do with him as he wishes...Everything that the slave in any way earns, should belong to his master. Las Silte Partidas affirmed that by nature men were free and that no master could violate the principles of natural reason. A slave might marry even against his owner's will; if tortured or cruelly treated he might complain to a judge, who could have him sold to a more humane master.

Slavery in West Africa

By the 16th century a stratified society had developed in West Africa with the great mass of people being designated "free" or "unfree". The actual amount of freedom or "unfreedom" could vary greatly according to time and place but it was always possible for free men to become unfree, mainly by being captured in war, or for unfree men to become free by hard work, loyal service or simply good luck.

But even the free men in West African societies seldom lived or worked as they pleased. Their freedom usually rested on the protection of chiefs and lords, and was given only in exchange for taxes or regular tribute of one form or another. It was upon a system of mutual services of this type that many of the political systems of the 16th century were founded.

Unfree men were in much the same general position as the majority of free men, except that they had fewer rights and were often pushed down into very humble positions in society. Often it is difficult to draw a line between men who were considered free and men who were considered slaves. Since nobody worked for money, free men as well as slaves had duties they could not escape, and

often the duties involved very much the same kind of work.

Thus, despite the fact that this class of slaves did exist in West Africa, it should be clear that it was seldom the chattel type of slavery which developed in the Americas. In strong contrast to trans-Atlantic customs and sttitudes slaves could easily work themselves into freedom. A slave could marry his master's daughter, become a trader, on his own account, acquire ranks of authority over free men and even rise to be a king. This is one important reason why African kings were sometimes willing to sell their fellow men to the European Traders--for them slavery was a fairly mild institution.

Basil Davidson, A History of West Africa to the 19th Century. Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, 1966, pp. 174-181 is the source for this information of West African slavery.

II. Mr. Forgione
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THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

VI.

The purpose of this section is to familiarize students with the history of the indigenous African slave trade and the Atlantic slave trade.

Robert Collins in his book Problems in African History states that

> Long before the arrival of Europeans in Africa trade in slaves existed with North Africa and Asia to supply domestic servants or to fill the harems of Arabia. A few slaves were exported to Europe, but compared to the later Atlantic slave trade, the geographical extent and the volume of traffic was minute. The North African trade always remained limited both by supply and demand and the difficulties of the Saharan Crossing. The trade with Asia was similarly circumscribed by supply and demand and the strength of the Zanj city-states of the East-African coast. After the coming of the Europeans to Africa in the late 15th century, the trade in slaves did not increase dramatically until the discovery of the New World and the development of plantations in the European Colonies of the Americas. By the 16th century the demand for cheap labor in the Western Hemisphere had created an enormous market for slaves. Moreover, the potential areas of supply increased correspondingly as Europeans came in contact with Negroid people along the whole vast stretch of the African littoral. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to engage in transporting large numbers of slaves from Africa to the New World, but in subsequent centuries as the demand and profits grew, the Dutch, French, and English successively secured control of the trade."

The Atlantic slave trade had its actual beginning in 1495 with the uprising of the Indian population on the Spanish island of Hispaniola, or Haiti. The Indians had been enslaved by Columbus in order to facilitate the search for gold. Manual

labor and a routine day of fourteen hours, however, were things that the native population was unaccustomed to and their rebellion was an attempt to throw off bondage. Mannix and Cowley in Black Cargoes describe the following incident.

> Columbus marched out against them, leading a force of two hundred infantry and twenty horseman. With the Spaniards went twenty 'blookhounds', big, savage animals bred to pull down wild boars and bears in the forests of Central Europe. The Indians had no more idea of battle than children. Some of the men wildly hurled stones; others ran at the soldiers and struck at them feebly with sticks or tried to push their reed lances through Spanish armor. A volley from the arquebuses and crossbows poured into the crowd. The naked Indians lay groveling in piles. Then the hounds were slipped, and the mounted men dashed in with their leveled lances. What followed was simply a massacre. The riders killed until their horses could no longer be coaxed into a trot. Later the survivors were hunted down with the hounds and put to work in the mines. Many of them died within a few days, totally unable to stand captivity.

One Spaniard on the island was moved by the wholesale slaughter of the Indians. His name was Bartolome' de Las Casas, later to become bishop of Chiafa in Mexico and to be known as the Apostle to the Indies. He was sickened by the sight of Indians dying in corrals and being burned at the stake in attempts to induce them to work. Las Casas returned to Spain and in 1517 stood before the throne of Charles V and implored him to spare the last of the Indians. The solution Las Casas proposed was simple. Import more Negroes to work the plantations and mines and release the Indians. The King was moved to pity.

> Charles granted one of his favorite courtiers a patent which entitled him to ship 4,000 Negroes to the West Indian Colonies. This was the beginning of the famous Asiento, an import license which carried with it the

> privilege of controlling the slave traffic to the Spanish dominions in the New World. For more than two centuries the Asiento was to be a prize in European wars. Thousands of Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Englishmen would die so that each of their nations in turn could possess that valuable piece of paper. The Spanish courtier, however, had no idea of the value of the king's patent. For 25,000 ducats he sold it to a syndicate of Genoese merchants, who obtained most of their supplies from the slave markets in Lisbon, although one Cargo was brought from the Guinea Coast as early as 1518. The Atlantic slave trade was under way.
> (Mannix and Cowley, Black Cargoes)

The Genoese merchants bought their slaves in Lisbon because the Portuguese had exclusive rights to the whole African continent. They had explored the Guinea coast and rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Their claims were confirmed by two papal bulls issued in 1493. By this time forts had been built to maintain control and also to serve as staging and holding areas for the slave trade.

About the middle of the 16th century Portuguese exclusivity was being challenged by the French, English, Dutch, Swedes, Danes and Brandenburgers or Prussians. The slave trade flourished, despite frequent wars between the European powers.

Bishop de Las Casas proved to be right; Negroes could survive under conditions intolerable to Indians. By 1540, 10,000 Negroes a year were being imported to the West Indies.

At this point it might be worthwhile to ask students why they feel the Negro was easier to enslave than the Indian? The often quoted argument runs something like this -- Negroes, because they were enslaved, are a naturally servile and inferior race. The Indians, on the other hand, were too "noble" to bend their necks to the white man's yoke and therefore a superior

group. This statement does not hold up because evidence indicates it is possible to enslave only civilized people. Much of the labor performed in the North American colonies, for example, was done by white indentured servants. Indentured, in this case, being a euphemism for slave. White men and women were similarly enslaved by the Nazis and Russians to give more recent examples. It appears obvious then, that men cannot be enslaved unless they have reached a relatively advanced culture. This was the case with most African tribes. There is no case on record of a truly primitive society being brought within the orbit of a civilization. Members of a primitive society find the strain of integration into an alien society too great and die out. It seems that in order to be integrated into another society the captives must have passed through at least an agricultural revolution. White slavers were able to make rapid strides in the development of the trade as a result of what President Nhrumah of Ghana calls the "Balkanization of Africa." One tribe could not understand the other. Languages were diverse and a single group of people might be divided into several hostile kingdoms as a result. As Mannix and Cowley point out

> Neither these little kingdoms nor the warring tribes around them would join together against a common enemy, and hence it was easy for slavers to set one group against another. It was as though an invading force had arrived in Europe during the Dark Ages and had exploited the continent by pitting each feudal lord against his neighbors.

And set them against each other they did. Slavers supplied various tribes with firearms in return for slaves. The firearms

and pressure they created forced other tribes to work their way to the west coast of Africa in order to procure arms, again by trading slaves. A state of war developed that produced millions of slaves for a ready market. In some cases tribal wars led to tribal alliances with European nations. Out of some of the warlike alliances flowed a regular pattern of peaceful trading. Basil Davidson points out in his book Black Mother

> With the growth of triangular trade in the seventeenth century, when slaving was the dominant factor in the African-European connection, collection of slaves on the coasts of Guinea and the Congo became increasingly a business with an accepted though often highly complicated scheme of rules and prohibitions. This business was always that of powerful men on either side, operating directly or indirectly through appointed agents, merchants, and captains; but it was increasingly, on the African side, an affair of chiefs and rulers who understood the value of monopoly and how to defend it.

Ships would sail into the West African region and look for landmarks, usually a clump of trees or a "tall tree," drop a boat and proceed inland with guns at the ready. The landing site was usually peaceful but often perilous. As time went on chiefs with slaves for sale would light fires to attract slavers or leave their shores in darkness as a signal to go elsewhere. Sickness and death were a constant threat to slaving crews. Eventually the European nations divided the West African coastline into regions considered good or bad according to their delivery of slaves.

> Trapped in this unforseen and fatal circumstance, pushed by their desire for European goods (and firearms often essential for survival), or blackmailed by the fear that what one or two might refuse their rivals would consent to

> give, the rulers of coastal Africa surrendered to the slave trade.
>
> (Basil Davidson, Black Mother)

All of this might have gone differently if the demand for slaves had slackened, but it didn't. The demand instead was great necessitating inland raiding ventures by chieftans who wanted to maintain a reputation for fast delivery. Captives were returned to the coast in long coffles and incarcerated in European built forts, stockades or corrals to await the arrival of a white slaver.

The manner of payment for slaves in some cases was quite complex. In the following example a man and a fine girl were exchanged for

> One roll tobacco, one string pipe coral
> One gun, three cutlasses, one brass blunderbuss
> 24 linen handkerchiefs, 5 patches, 3 jugs rum
> 12 Brittanicas, 12 pint mugs
> One laced hat, one linen handkerchief.
>
> (Basil Davidson, Black Mother)

After being purchased each slave was marked on the breast with a red hot iron. This was done so that each nation might distinguish its own and to prevent the natives from exchanging good slaves for poorer.

> The branded slaves, after this, are returned to their former booths, where they await shipment, sometimes ten or fifteen days. When that happens they are stripped naked before being put into canoes without distinction of men or women.
>
> (Basil Davidson, Black Mother)

As slaves were loaded on ships they were given a piece of canvas to wrap about their waists.

This was systematic degradation which inevitably led to a disregard for human suffering. On the African side there is

evidence to indicate that this "process helped towards a breakdown of social structures and a collapse of security and self-respect." (Davidson) On the European side thoughts were of making higher profits. The slave suffered in many cases to the point of death.

> As soon as an assortment of naked slaves was taken aboard a Guineaman, the men were shackled two by two, the right wrist and ankle of one to the left wrist and ankle of another. Then they were sent to the hold or, at the end of the eighteenth century, to the 'house' that the sailors had built on deck. The women--usually regarded as fair prey for the sailors--and the children were allowed to wander by day almost anywhere on the vessel, though they spent the night between decks in other rooms than the men. All the slaves were forced to sleep without covering on bare wooden floors, which were often constructed of unplaned boards. In a stormy passage the skin over their elbows might be worn away to the bare bones.
> (Mannix and Cowley, Black Cargoes)

In some cases the slaves would number six or seven hundred and could be placed on board only by careful packing. In many cases packing charts actually existed to facilitate loading. To help maintain control over their cargoes, slave captains usually placed people who spoke different languages together robbing them of any comfort this might have provided and at the same time making conspiracy almost impossible. Even with these precautions, however, several shipboard rebellions did occur. There are also reports of numerous suicides taking place in the middle passage.

After suffering untold misery and degradation the African arrived in the New World.

Suggested reading for this section:

Daniel P. Mannix with Maldolm Cowley, Black Cargoes, New York, Viking Press, 1962.

Robert O. Collins, Problems In African History, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968.

VII.

By the time the Atlantic slave trade began both the Portuguese (who were to set up a slave system in Brazil which did not dehumanize the Negro) and the English (who were to set up the most dehumanizing chattel slavery the world has seen) had already formed certain attitudes which were to influence their reaction to the Negro. These attitudes were in a large part due to the different historical experiences each country had undergone. Although the various forms of racism are due to a variety of complex factors it is important to realize that historical accident can be the beginning of a deeply racist mentality.

Portugal

The geographic location of the Iberian Peninsula between Africa and Europe made the area a meeting place for people of various shades. The result was a culturally diverse and ethnically mixed Portuguese civilization.

-- As early as the paleolithic era people of African origin had made considerable penetration into the Iberian peninsula.

-- This interracial contact continued through the neolithic era so that the Moorish invasions of the Middle Ages reinforced

an already present cultural and ethnic heterogeneity. It was during the Moorish rule that the peninsula became inundated with Negro and Moorish blood.

-- In a situation of this type race or color became much less important as an identifying characteristic. Instead the Portuguese came to regard one who professed the same religion as his equal.

-- This long contact with Africans gave rise to the ideal of beauty as being that of the brown skinned, black eyed Moorish woman.

-- Thus when the Portuguese first came into contact with the very black people south of the Sahara they were not unduly shocked by their skin.

Source: Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves. New York: Knopf, 1956. Chap. III.

England

Since it did not occupy the same pivotal geographic position as Portugal, England was not subject to the diverse cultural and ethnic influences as the Portuguese.

-- The initial English contact with Africans did not take place until 1550 in West Africa south of the Sahara.

-- This rather sudden contact was in an area where the natives were almost literally black. It was the Africans' blackness which was to become his most important characteristic in the minds of the English.

-- This initial contact occurred when the word black was already filled with meaning for the Englishmen. Before the

16th century the Oxford Dictionary had defined black as . . . deeply stained with dirt, soiled, dirty, foul . . . having dark or deadly purposes, malignant, pertaining to or involving death . . . foul, iniquitous, atrocious, horrible, wicked.

-- The ideal of beauty for the Englishman was a fair complexion of rose and white. Black was the direct opposite of white in every sense of the word.

-- The English appear to have been so overwhelmed by the color of the African that his religious situation as a "heathen" was ignored by them. No real attempt was made to convert Africans until late in the 18th century.

-- The most tragic happenstance of this initial contact was that at the same time the English also met the animal which most resembled man--the orang-outang" or chimpanzee. The inevitable comparisons were tragically made.

Source: Winthrop G. Jordan, White Over Black. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968. Chap. I.

VIII. Implication of Slavery for British Industrialization and the Triangular Trade.

Introduction:

The purpose of this section is to show the role that the Black man played as an economic factor in the growth of the Americas. Eric Williams, in Capitalism and Slavery, states that his book is "an economic study of the role of Negro slavery and the slave trade in providing the capital which

financed the Industrial Revolution in England; it is not a study of the institution of slavery, but of the contribution of slavery to the development of British capitalism."
(Williams, pp. 1-2)

So Black slavery and the slave trade of blacks should be defined in terms of slavery as an <u>economic institution</u>. (Williams, p. 5) This section will be divided into three parts:

A. The Origin of Black Slavery: Why not Indians or poor whites? Why black slavery?

B. The Development of Black Slave Trade: Black slavery demands black slaves: The profit incentive motive.

C. The Effects of the Slave Trade on British Commerce and Industry: Triangular Trade.

I. <u>Origin of Black Slavery</u> (Eric Williams, Chapter One)

A. The Colonies

1. British colonial possession up to 1776 can be broadly divided into two types:

a. The self-sufficient and diversified economy of small farmers: The northern colonies of the American mainland.

b. The colony which has facilities for production of staple articles on a large scale for an export market: The mainland tobacco colonies and the sugar islands of the Caribbean.

2. In colonies of the latter type, land and capital were useless unless <u>labor</u> could be commanded.

a. Labor must be constant and must work, or be made to work, in co-operation.

b. Without this compulsion, the laborer would tend to exercise his natural inclination to work his own land and toil on his own account.

c. So controlled labor is the essential variable in the large scale production colonies.

B. Indian Slavery in the New World

1. Historically we must remember: Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow, Catholic, Protestant and pagan. Slavery, at first, was not born of racism.

2. The first instance of slave trading and slave labor developed in the New World involved, not the Negro or Black, but the Indian.

a. In the New England colonies Indian slavery was unprofitable because slavery itself was unsuited to the diversified agriculture of these colonies.

b. In the Spanish Caribbean colonies the Indian was found inefficient: "One Negro was worth four Indians." (Williams, p. 9)

c. The future stable of the New World, sugar and cotton, required strength which the Indian lacked.

d. The Indians of the Caribbean, notably the Caribs, had not yet reached a civilization that was agrarian based, and so they could not adjust to this stable life-style.

C. White Slavery in the New World

1. The successor of the Indian, however, was not the Negro or black man, but the poor white. These white servants included a variety of types.

a. Indentured servants: so called because, before departure from the homelands, they signed a contract, indented by law, binding them to service for a stipulated time in return for their passage.

b. Redemptioners: arranged with the captain of the ship to pay for their passage on arrival or within a specified time thereafter; if they did not, they were sold by the captain to the highest bidder.

c. Convicts: sent out by the deliberate policy of the home government, to serve for a specified period.

d. Kidnapped: those taken by force and sold.

e. Political and religious non-conformists: paid for their unorthodoxy by transportation. Many of Oliver Cromwell's Irish prisoners were sent to the West Indies. (Williams, p. 13).

2. The great problem in a new country is the problem of labor. All these people who were of no value, or marginal value, in the home country, provided necessary labor in the colonies.

3. This temporary service at the outset denoted no inferiority or degradation. Most whites were either fleeing restrictions of feudalism, or freedom from oppression, or

fleeing devastation of war, or seeking a new opportunity.

4. The transportation of these white servants shows in its true light the horrors of the Middle Passage. The emigrants were packed like herrings. (cf. Williams, pp. 13-14)

D. The Mercantile Theory and Emigration

1. The Mercantile Theory of the 16th and 17th centuries was based on the accumulation of the precious metals.

2. However, in the late 17th century the aim of national economic policy shifts from accumulation to the development of industry within the country, the promotion of employment and the encouragement of exports.

3. The fear of overpopulation at the beginning of the 17th century gave way to fear of underpopulation in the middle of the 17th century.

4. The essential condition of colonization--emigration from the home country--now ran counter to the principle that national interest demanded a large population at home: excess labor equals low wages. (Williams, p. 16)

E. Black Slavery in the New World

1. For the surplus population needed to people the colonies in the New World the British turned to Africa.

2. The Royal African Company (The Company of Royal Adventurers trading to Africa incorporated in 1663) was established in the late 17th century.

3. By 1680, the African was satisfying the necessities

of production better than the European: the Negro slave was cheaper. (Williams, p. 19)

4. The reason for the origin of Negro slavery was economic, not racial; it had to do not with the color of the laborer, but the cheapness of the labor. (Williams, p. 19)

a. "Subhuman" characteristics so widely pleaded, were only the later rationalizations to justify a single economic fact. The colonies needed labor and resorted to Negro labor because it was cheapest and best.

b. The myth of the climatic theory of the plantation: the white man could not stand the strain of manual labor in this climate, and for this reason alone, Europeans turned to Africans, is quite untenable. Whites faced the sun for well over a hundred years in Barbados, and the Salzburgers of Georgia.

5. The fundamental fact was that sugar, tobacco and cotton required the large plantation and hordes of cheap labor.

6. The plantation economy had no room for poor whites: besides a few overseers and, perhaps, the physician, the white farmers were squeezed out. (cf. Williams, p. 25. Price of Land)

7. It is interesting to note that after the emancipation of the blacks in 1831 in West Indies, the plantation owner, now, deprived of his Negro or black cheap labor, turns back to the white, then to the Indian. This time the Indian from the East

replaces the African. Cuba also turned to indentured Chinese coolies after Emancipation of the Blacks.

8. Negro slavery, therefore, was only a solution in certain historical circumstances, of the Caribbean labor problem. Slavery in no way implied, in any scientific sense, the inferiority of the Negro.

II. Development of the Black Slave Trade

A. Black Slavery Demanded the Black Slave Trade

1. The economic policies of the Stuart monarchy entrusted the slave trade to a monopolistic company, The Company of Royal Adventurers.

2. However, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 expelled the Stuarts and gave impetus to the principle of free trade. (In 1698 the Royal African Company lost its monopoly)

3. The slave trade was more than a means to an end, it was also an end in itself. (Williams, p. 33)

4. The Asiento, (privilege of supplying slaves to the Spanish colonies) became one of the most highly coveted and bitterly contested plums of international diplomacy.

5. The story of the rise of Liverpool is mainly the story of the increase of slave trade. (Williams, p. 34)

B. The Aim of the Trade was Profit

1. The horrors of the Middle Passage and high mortality on the slave ships must be found firstly, in epidemics, and secondly in the practice of overcrowding the vessels.

2. The slave trader's aim was profit and not the

comfort of his victim. (cf. Williams, pp. 36-37 for details on average ship returns).

3. The slave trade was "ideal." It was carried on by means of British manufactured goods, and was, as far as British colonies were concerned, inseparably connected with the plantation trade which rendered Britain independent of foreigners for her supply of tropical products.

4. The slave trade created British industry at home and tropical agriculture in the colonies.

5. In the Eighteenth century the conflict of rival mercantilisms came to the fore, especially Anglo-French. The struggle centered around the right to control two important commodities, Negroes and Sugar. By the Treaty of Utrecht, privilege of control of the Asiento was conceded to England as a result of her victory in the War of Spanish Succession.

C. The English Attitude Toward the Trade of Slaving

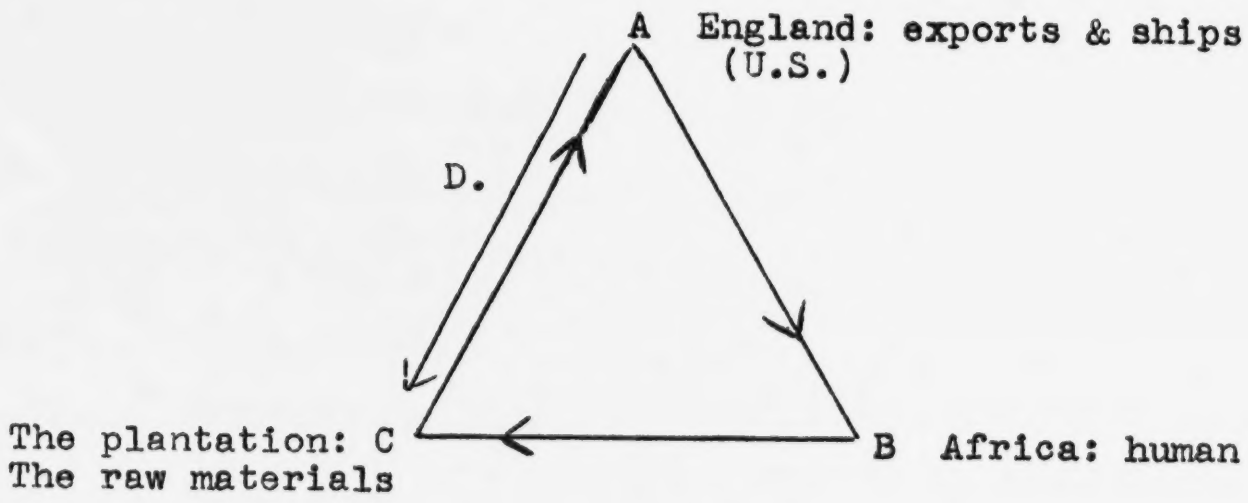
1. cf. Williams, pp. 42-50, for a discussion of the role of churches and religions toward slavery, and as slave traders; the role of English society; the role of slave trades in high government offices; the role of literature toward the Negro or black slave.

III. <u>The Slave Trade and British Commerce and Industry</u>

1. The 17th and 18th centuries were centuries of trade, as the 19th century was the century of production. For Britain that trade was primarily the Triangular Trade.

A. The Triangular Trade (Eric Williams, Chapter III)

1. In this triangular trade:



2. Slave ship sailed from home country (A) with cargo of manufactured goods; these are exchanged at a <u>profit</u> (B) on the coast of Africa for Negroes; who are traded (C) on the plantation, at another <u>profit</u>, in exchange for a cargo of colonial produce to be taken back to the home country.

3. As volume of trade increased, the triangular trade was supplemented, but never supplanted, by (D) a direct trade home country and West Indies.

B. Trade Stimulus to British Industry

1. Triple stimulus to industry at home.

a. Blacks were purchased with British manufacturing.

b. These Blacks, transported to plantation, produced sugar, cotton, indigo, molasses, etc., the processing of which created new industries in England.

c. The maintenance of these black slaves and their owners on plantations provided another market for British industry.

2. Sir Josiah Child estimated that every Englishman in the West Indies with ten blacks that worked, accounting what they eat, use and wear, would make employment for four in England. (Williams, p. 52)

3. Sir Dalby Thomas: every person employed on the sugar plantation was 130 times more valuable to England than one at home. (Williams, p. 53)

C. The West Indies and the Triangular Trade

1. A comparison of the Caribbean with the mainland helps to enlight the importance of these islands. Year, 1773.

a. 1/4 of British import came from Caribbean, while only 1/8 came from entire mainland.

b. The Caribbean consumed over 8 per cent of British exports, while the mainland 16 per cent.

c. 15 per cent of British total trade was with West Indies, while 14 per cent was with mainland.

2. Leaving out the plantation colonies on the mainland, the triangular and West Indies trades represented nearly 1/7 of total British trade during years 1714-1773.

3. Little Barbados, with its 166 square miles, was worth more to British capitalism than New England, New York and Pennsylvania combined.

4. Moreover, the tropical products, unlike the northern part of the mainland, did not compete with those of the home country.

5. Shipbuilding in England received a direct stimulus

D. Growth of Great British Seaport Towns

1. Use Eric Williams, Chapter III, pp. 60-64, to trace the growth of an English town due to Triangular Trade:

either, a. Bristol--direct sugar trade with West Indies

or, b. Liverpool--slave trade shippers

or later, c. Manchester--manufacturer of cotton goods.

E. The Goods in the Triangular Trade

1. Trace the industrial development of an English industry which was stimulated directly or indirectly by the Triangular Trade. (cf. Williams, pp. 60-84)

either, a. Wools (Bridgewater)

or, b. Cotton manufacture (Manchester) (Lancashire)

or, c. Sugar Refining (Bristol) (Glasgow)

d. Rum distillation (Liverpool)

e. Pacotille (Bristol)

f. Metallurgical industries (Birmingham)

F. Investment of Profits from Triangular Trade

1. Trace the depth of investment of profit so it flows through British economy. (cf. Eric Williams, Chapter V)

a. Banking--Glasgow, Ship Bank, in 1750.

b. Heavy industry.

c. Insurance--Lloyd's was but a coffee house which dealt with runaway slaves.

d. Industrial development: profits from this trade fertilized the entire productive system of the country. (Williams, p. 105)

Conclusion:

"It must not be inferred that the triangular trade was solely and entirely responsible for the economic development of England." (Eric Williams, pp. 105-6)

But it is a major factor that is sometimes overlooked and should be considered in a discussion of the growth of the institution of slavery.

IX. Pan Africa

The settlement of the New World was not solely a European enterprise. Rather it is best described as a common undertaking by the people of Europe and Africa. Over a period of approximately 400 years the Atlantic slave trade resulted in one of the greatest migrations in history. Although it is difficult to estimate the number of Africans who were forcibly removed from their homeland the total could be as high as 60 million. Most of the slaves never reached the New World, some dying while still in African captivity, many others succumbing to the horrors of the slave ships. Nevertheless, as many as 15 million Africans may have reached their final destination and they permeated virtually every section of the United States and Latin America. About 95 per cent of the slaves who arrived were taken to Latin America while the United States absorbed only about 5 per cent of the total number. Although it is difficult to estimate the number of Africans taken across the Atlantic the following population chart is a good indication of the large number of non-white people in the Western Hemisphere.

X. A Comparison of Brazilian and U.S. Slavery

Despite the fact that both Brazil and the United States developed a plantation slave system the role of the black man in Brazilian society has not been the same as the role the black American has played in his society. In Brazil, Negroes do not suffer legal or even major social disabilities on account of color and a long history of acceptance and miscegenation has erased the sharp line between white and black. Today the United States finds itself in what can only be described as an intolerable racial situation. If the black man was brought into both nations as a slave the question arises as to why both societies have developed so differently. The answer lies in the differences between the two slave systems.

In the legal structure of the United States, the black slave became property. As such the slave was without the rights to marriage, to children, to the product of his work or to freedom. In Brazil, however, while remaining at the bottom of the social order the slave was still considered a human being with certain rights and some means by which he might achieve freedom.

This is not to say that slavery in Brazil was a good or even a mild institution, as many instances of physical cruelty most likely occurred in Brazil as in the United States. The key to the difference between the two systems is the recognition that slavery was not merely a legal relationship but a moral one. Frank Tannenbaum has pointed out that where the

law accepted the doctrine of the moral personality of the slave the gradual achievement of freedom implicit in such a doctrine was accomplished without violence. In Brazil this was the situation while in the United States the slave was denied recognition as a moral being and was therefore considered incapable of freedom. As a result, abolition was accompanied by force and the mental attitudes of white Americans toward the black man changed very little when slavery was abolished. The following comparison is designed to make the differences between the two slave systems as clear as possible.

II: Mr. Forgione
Mr. Gougeon
Mr. Hern

A COMPARISON OF UNITED AND STATES AND BRAZILIAN SLAVERY

It should be noted that the United States slave system described below refers to slavery after the early 1660's. Before that time the institution of slavery had not become legalized.

I. Role of the Church

In Brazil the Catholic Church insisted that slaves be instructed in Christian Doctrine and baptized. Once baptized, the slave was considered the equal of his master in the eyes of God and it was also considered entirely possible for the moral status of the slave to be better than that of his master.

The influence of the church was very strong on the institution of marriage. When two slaves were to be married banns were published, the ceremony was performed in the church and it was illegal for the master to separate a husband and wife.

In the Southern United States the church did not provide the same safeguards as was provided in Brazil. Although slaves were baptized they never attained the distinction of being considered the moral equal of their master.

The marriage of slaves in the United States was not sanctified by the church. Marriage between slaves did not take place in church, no official banns were announced, the marriage produced no civil effect at all and there was no attempt to respect a slave family. An owner could and often did separate husbands, wives and children by selling them to different people.

II. Attitude toward manumission

In Brazil the manumission of slaves was a practice which was encouraged and which also brought respect and honor to the owner. A number of festive occasions such as a birth, marriage or feast day, were often accompanied by the manumission of slaves. There was also a widespread custom in Brazil of freeing a slave child at its baptism. The mother would often seek a Godfather for her child who would often pay a small sum of money to the priest for the child's freedom. To accept an offer to be a slave child's Godfather was considered an honor.

It was also possible for slaves in Brazil to compel their masters to free them by reimbursing the original purchase price. The money could be obtained by the slave since he was allowed to hire himself out as a worker and keep all the money he earned. A slave in Brazil was also allowed to own his own property and sell products that he might grow on his land. The fact that in Brazil a slave had about eighty-four holidays on which to earn his own money brought self-purchase within the realm of possibility. It was even possible for a slave to purchase his freedom in installments and to move from his master's house after the first installment.

In the United States manumission was discouraged by social practice and, in many places by law. Unlike Brazil a slave owner who freed his slaves in the United States risked the opprobrium of the community. Nor was there a custom of freeing slaves at the baptismal font. Some states imposed legal restrictions on manumission. At various times Mississippi, Alabama and Maryland declared manumission by will to be void. In South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi manumission was valid only with the consent of the state legislature. In North Carolina a surety of $1,000 was required from

the slave owner before manumission for the guarantee of the freed slave's good behavior. At various times Mississippi required the owner who wanted to free a slave to file a written document proving the slave had performed a meritorious deed.

Nor was it possible for a slave in the United States to buy his own freedom. Slaves could not acquire money or property without the consent of their master and some states even made it illegal for slaves to own property with their masters' consent. Such an attitude toward manumission implied a complete, if unconscious, attitude of hostility to those whose freedom was opposed or denied.

III. Legal Rights

In Brazil the slave enjoyed a protection under the law which was virtually unknown in the United States. A master could not kill or injure a slave unless authorized by a judge, nor could he abuse the slave against reason of nature. If the master did any of these things the slave could complain to the judge and if the complaint was verified the judge had to sell the slave. Slaves could be witnesses in court, even against their masters in serious cases.

In the United States the slave was offered virtually no protection by the law. There were laws in some states protecting slaves against cruel and unusual punishment but they reflected a very lax attitude. Tennessee, for instance, provided that the law defining the killing of a slave as murder should not apply "to any person killing a slave . . . in the act of resistance . . . or dying under moderate correction." In South Carolina an act of 1740 provided that the willful murderer of a slave should be fined seven hundred pounds but if the murder occurred

"on sudden heat and passion" the fine should be only three hundred and fifty pounds. This same law also set a fine of one hundred pounds for cutting of the tongue, putting out the eye, castrating, scalding and other similar offenses. But even these laws were difficult to enforce because slaves were denied the right to testify against white people in court.

IV. Free Blacks

1. Definition

A person who was never a slave or became a free man by manumission.

2. Method used to obtain freedom in the United States (c.f. Mathew Wilson, Free Blacks-North South).

A. Came free, Fenda Lawrence in Georgia in 1772.

B. Indentured servitude, Jamestown group in 1619.

C. Born free, William, son of Anthony and Isabell in Jamestown in 1624 or 1625.

D. Escape, runaway slaves.

E. Manumission,

1. Conversion to Christian faith til 1660's.

2. Will of a former master.

3. Act of service to Commonwealth.

4. Bought their freedom, John Geaween in 1641.

5. Freedom through serving in various military units, especially during American Revolution.

3. Figures on Growth of Slave and Freedmen Population 1790-1860, cf. Mathew Wilson, Free Blacks-North South.

4. Racial labels given to Negroes in United States:

A. "F.N." (free negro)

B. "F.C." (free colored)

C. "F.B." (free black)

D. Simply "Negro," "colored," "mullato," and "black."

E. New term--Afro-American.

V. Role of the Free Blacks in United States

1. Because of the presence of a powerful institution in Latin America, the Catholic Church, the slave system could not abolish the natural equality of man. The master owned the labor of the slave, but not his person. (Elkins, p. 74). Slavery was not a closed system; it did not exist for durante vite, duration of life, but it was openended. There was the possibility, and even the reality, of "passing-over." The Latin American society was a fluid state, even for the black slave.

2. However, slavery was a quite different institution in the United States. Despite the fact that there were various methods listed for obtaining freedom (part II above), after the 1660's slavery in the United States becomes a very closed system. The Church as an institution of authority and power had no real existence. In fact, all lines of communication to society at large, originated and ended with the master. The system was unique, sui generes. (Elkins, p. 63).

There was, in fact, no role for the "free"black man. Since the slave had no legal rights, since he was titled in the English system as "chattel," a free black was a legal absurdity in the society of the South, and even some areas of the North (Elkins, p. 59).

Because he was not legally, nor even naturally, a person, he could hardly function in any real sense as a free man. He was an anachronism in our American society.

3. The idiosyncracies of the North American system and institution are seen with reference to the various racial labels given to the Negroes in United States (cf. Mathew Wilson, Free Blacks--North South, p. 5).

These differences between the two slave systems indicated that in Brazil the black man had both a juridical and a moral personality even while he was enslaved. The fact that the element of human personality was not lost in the transition to slavery from Africa to Brazil was due to the influence of the Catholic Church and the fact that the treatment of slaves had been incorporated into law on the Iberian peninsula, La siete paridas. The English on the other hand had no effective slave tradition, no slave law, and religious institutions that were little concerned about the black man. Since the slave in Brazil was endowed with a moral personality he was able to make the transition from slavery to freedom easily while, the free black in the United States found that he was never really incorporated into the free community.

Indeed, even after emancipation white Americans viewed the black man with the same mental attitude that had characterized their views toward the slave. It was the persistence of this mental attitude which led to the explosive racial situation of the 1960's; for while white Americans have retained their racist mentality the black man has begun to demand an immediate end to the racism which pervades our society. Hopefully, this unit will wrought a change in the mental attitudes of those white Americans who are exposed to it while enlightening black Americans about the nature of their past.

APPENDIX

Supplementary Note

The teacher may wish to supplement his comparison of Brazilian and United States slave systems with a discussion of the music which developed in each area under the influence of the Africans. In the United States the work songs and spirituals which were sung by the slaves often reflected their desperate plight and contained codes for clandestine communication among the slaves. In Brazil the music which developed reflected a happier and more hopeful attitude. Likewise in the field of literature Brazil produced great black writers who were considered part of Brazilian culture while in the United States black writers were rarely accepted as contributors to American literature. Also, it is important to note that American black writers have been, of necessity, concerned with protest in their works. Brazilian writers, however, have been able to concern themselves with all facets of Brazilian society. This difference is due to the fact that Brazilian writers have not had their lives almost totally determined simply because of their color. The teacher may wish to consult:

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